

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 SP-02

AID-05 EB-07 NSC-05 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-04

OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00

XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 SIL-01 FEA-01 DODE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AGRE-00 PM-04 H-02 L-03 PA-01

PRS-01 /130 W

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O P 180350Z NOV 76

FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 868

INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION OECD PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: UNGA, EGEN

SUBJ: 31ST UNGA--AGENDA ITEM 66, NEGOTIATIONS ON DRAFT
CIEC RESOLUTION

REF: (A) USUN 5363 (NOTAL); (B) USUN 5203 (NOTAL);
(C) STATE 278651 (NOTAL); (D) MYERSON TELECONS
WITH KATZ (EB) AND MOREY (IO)

1. SUMMARY: PROLONGED DRAFTING EFFORTS ON THE CIEC
RESOLUTION CONCLUDED LATE NOVEMBER 17 WITHOUT AGREEMENT
AND WITH G-8 COHESION MAINTAINED ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE FRAGILE.
THE EXERCISE FINALLY REACHED AN IMPASSE DUE TO G-77
UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT REASONABLY BALANCED LANGUAGE
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REFERRING TO WESTERN AS WELL AS TO G-19 PROPOSALS IN OPERATIVE

PARA 3. THE FIRM US REJECTION OF A SLIGHTING REFERENCE TO "POLITICAL WILL" IN PREAMBULAR PARA 4 WAS A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR. PREAMBULAR PARA 5 IS ALSO DISAGREED OVER A SINGLE WORD. WE HAVE RECEIVED EXCELLENT SUPPORT FROM THE CANADIAN DELEGATE, WHO BACKED US UP EVEN IN CASES WHERE CANADA ALONE WOULD HAVE AGREED. THE EC AND JAPAN HAVE ALSO HELD UP REASONABLY WELL. WE WILL NEED URGENT VOTING INSTRUCTIONS FOR A SECOND COMMITTEE MEETING THAT COULD TAKE PLACE AT 10:30 A.M. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18. INSTRUCTIONS MUST COVER BOTH THE ORIGINAL G-77 TEXT AND THE NEGOTIATED TEXT AS IT STANDS. WE URGE THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED TO ABSTAIN AND MAKE A STATEMENT ON THE BASIS EXPLAINED BELOW. IF THE G-77 RECONSIDER OVERNIGHT AND DECIDE TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WE WILL REQUIRE FURTHER QUICK GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. END SUMMARY.

2. CONSIDERABLE FIRMNESS, SOME LUCK, AND VIGOROUS CANADIAN PRESENTATIONS ENABLED US TO PUT THE G-77 ON THE SPOT FOR THEIR UNREASONABLENESS REGARDING OPERATIVE PARA 3 WHICH REFERS TO "PROPOSALS" UNDER CONSIDERATION IN PARIS. THE G-77 TRIED TO PUSH THROUGH LANGUAGE WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS AN IMPLIED WESTERN COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO THEIR PROPOSALS WITH LITTLE OR NO G-19 COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO G-8 PROPOSALS. ON THIS BASIS, NONE OF THE G-8 WERE PREPARED TO SAY THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT EITHER THE ORIGINAL G-77 DRAFT (TEXT IN REFTEL (B)) OR THE NEGOTIATED TEXT WHICH MAY BE SUBMITTED IN THE NAME OF THE CONTACT GROUP CHAIRMAN. PARA NINE OF THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS THE NEGOTIATED TEXT.

3. THE IRANIAN DELEGATE TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HIS INABILITY -- AND PRESUMABLY THE INABILITY OF OTHER OPEC DELEGATIONS -- TO ACCEPT REASONABLY BALANCED REFERENCES TO BOTH G-19 PROPOSALS AND WESTERN PROPOSALS IS A MIRROR IMAGE OF OUR OWN DIFFICULTY ON THIS POINT; I.E., FEAR THAT IT WOULD BE USED AGAINST THEM IN PARIS. THE CANADIAN DELEGATE TOLD US THAT HE MAY TRY TO GET A QUICK MESSAGE TO HIS PEOPLE TO RAISE THIS MATTER WITH PEREZ GUERRERO. THE LATTER REPORTEDLY TOLD THE CANADIANS IN NEW YORK LAST WEEKEND THAT HE RECOGNIZED THERE WAS SOME IMBALANCE IN OPERATIVE PARA 3. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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4. APART FROM THE FOREGOING DISAGREEMENT, WE HAVE CONTINUED TO STONEWALL ON PREAMBULAR PARA 4 WHICH POINTS THE FINGER AT "MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES" FOR LACK OF "POLITICAL WILL". LATE IN THE DAY, THE PAKISTANI G-77 SPOKESMAN PRESENTED A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL WHICH IS REPRODUCED IN THE CHAIRMAN'S TEXT BELOW. THE CONVOLUTED LANGUAGE WOULD AMOUNT TO HAVING US RECOGNIZE THE

FACT THAT WE ARE UNDER CRITICISM FROM THE LDCS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS WOULD HAVE ACQUIESCED ON THIS BASIS, BUT WE REFUSED TO SUPPORT IT. WE MADE A FIRM STATEMENT POINTING OUT THAT (A) WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE PREMISE AND (B) WE ARE NOT PREPARED FORMALLY TO "TAKE NOTE" OF THE G-77 CRITICISM ANY MORE THAN WE ARE ASKING THEM FORMALLY TO "TAKE NOTE" OF THE FACT THAT WE DISAGREE WITH THEIR ASSESSMENT. (COMMENT: IF EVERYTHING ELSE HAD BEEN RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY US REP MYERSON WOULD HAVE TRIED TO SEEK SOME FORMULA TO LET THE G-77 REGISTER THEIR VIEW IF A DIGNIFIED AND FAIR MEANS COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND.)

5. PREAMBULAR PARA 5 IS DISAGREED ONLY BECAUSE MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS -- PARTLY AT US INSISTENCE -- HAVE REFUSED TO TAKE AN AUSTRALIAN PROPOSAL STATING THAT ACHIEVEMENT OF CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN ALL AREAS "IS FUNDAMENTAL" TO THE SUCCESS OF CIEC. THE WORD "FUNDAMENTAL" WOULD BE A REPLACEMENT FOR THE G-77 LANGUAGE "PREREQUISITE FOR" SUCCESS. WHILE WE DO NOT LIKE IT, WE WOULD HAVE RECOMMENDED WASHINGTON ACCEPTANCE OF THE AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGE HAD WE GOTTEN SATISFACTION ON THE OTHER DISAGREED POINTS.

6. DELEGATIONS ARE SEEKING URGENT INSTRUCTIONS OVERNIGHT. WHILE WE CANNOT RPT NOT BE CERTAIN HOW THINGS WILL GO, ALL OR MOST OF THE G-8 MAY BE ABLE TO STICK TOGETHER IN ABSTAINING IF EITHER THE ORIGINAL G-77 TEXT OR THE SO-CALLED CHAIRMAN'S TEXT IS ACTUALLY PUT TO A VOTE WITHOUT FURTHER CHANGE. OBVIOUSLY, COHESION WOULD BE MORE LIKELY IN OPPOSING THE ORIGINAL G-77 TEXT. OUR GUESS IS THAT EC-9 PRESSURES FOR UITY WILL KEEP THEM TOGETHER. HOWEVER, THERE IS ALWAYS A RISK THAT THE DUTCH BECAUSE OF THEIR NATIONAL POSITION, AND THE DANES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BECAUSE OF NORDIC SOLIDARITY, MIGHT BE INSTRUCTED TO ACQUIESCE IN A "YES" VOTE WITH A STATEMENT OF RESERVATION. THE JAPANESE EXPECT TO FOLLOW THE MAJORITY OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS AND ARE THEREFORE LIKELY TO ABSTAIN ON EITHER DRAFT. THE SWEDES WILL OBVIOUSLY BE MOST UNCOMFORTABLE. SPAIN IS LIKELY TO GO WITH THE MAJORITY. AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN WEAK THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATION BUT MIGHT ABSTAIN IF EVERYONE ELSE DOES. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT, SHOULD THE US VOTE "NO" ON THE ORIGINAL TEXT WE MIGHT GET ONE OR TWO DELEGATIONS TO ACCOMPANY US, BUT THIS IS IMPROBABLE.

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USIE-00 INRE-00 FEA-01 AGRE-00 PM-04 H-02 L-03 PA-01

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7. GIVEN THE UNCERTAINTIES AND TIGHT TIMETABLE, WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS: (A) THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED TO VOTE EITHER "NO" OR TO ABSTAIN ON THE ORIGINAL G-77 TEXT DEPENDING ON OUR JUDGMENT OF THE LOCAL SITUATION; (B) THAT WE BE AUTHORIZED TO ABSTAIN SHOULD THE CHAIRMAN'S TEXT BE VOTED ON; AND (C) THAT WE MAKE AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE IN ANY CASE. WE ALSO NEED GUIDANCE ON DISAGREED LANGUAGE SHOULD THE NEGOTIATION BE RESUMED.

8. WE PLAN AN EXPLANATION OF VOTE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES (WHICH MAY HAVE TO BE ADAPTED IN LIGHT OF WHAT OTHERS SAY). BEGIN TEXT DESPITE HARD WORK BY ALL MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP, IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. PERHAPS WITH MORE TIME, CONSENSUS COULD HAVE BEEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACHIEVED. EACH DELEGATION WILL BE DOUBT HAVE ITS OWN JUDGMENT
ON THIS POINT.

IRRESPECTIVE OF THE OUTCOME OF OUR EFFORTS ON THIS
RESOLUTION, I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE US GOVERNMENT
REMAINS COMMITTED TO CONTINUING THE PROCESS OF DIALOGUE
AND CONTRIBUTING SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE CAUSE OF
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. WE
ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ARE DOING OUR UTMOST TO
MAXIMIZE ITS CHANCES OF SUCCESS.

WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO SUPPORT THE TEXT BEFORE US
BECAUSE IN OUR JUDGMENT IT CONTAINS LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD
PREJUDICE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE.
SPECIFICALLY, WE CANNOT ACCEPT -- NOR DO WE CONSIDER IT
REASONABLE THAT WE BE ASKED TO ACCEPT -- LANGUAGE WHICH
PLACES PROPOSALS WE HAVE MADE OR WILL MAKE IN THE
CONFERENCE IN A LESSER CATEGORY THAN THOSE OF OTHER
DELEGATIONS OR GROUPS. MOREOVER, WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE
JUDGMENT THAT MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES LACK POLITICAL WILL
IN RELATION TO THE CONFERENCE. THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY DIFF-
ERENCES OF INTEREST AND PERCEPTION. THESE SHOULD BE SUBJECT
TO NEGOTIATION ON THEIR MERITS.

I SHALL NOT COMMENT ON OTHER SPECIFIC PARTS
OF THE TEXT ALTHOUGH WE HAD DIFFICULTIES OF LESSER MAGNITUDE
REGARDING SOME PHRASEOLOGY. END TEXT.

9. FOLLOWING, BASED ON OUR UNOFFICIAL NOTES, IS THE
CHAIRMAN'S TEXT (THE NEGOTIATED TEXT) INsofar AS IT DIFFERS
FROM THE ORIGINAL G-77 TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS 1, 2 AND 3 REMAIN AS IN ORIGINAL
DRAFT RESOLUTION, AS AGREED.

PREAMBULAR PARA 4. NOTING THE GROWING CONCERN OF MANY
COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES,
THAT MOST OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE
CONFERENCE HAVE YET TO DEMONSTRATE THE NECESSARY POLITICAL
WILL TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS.
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PREAMBULAR PARA 5. CONSIDERING THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF
CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN ALL AREAS UNDER
CONSIDERATION AT THE CONFERENCE IS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE
SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE AND SHOULD MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL
CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES AND CONSTITUTE A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

OPERATIVE PARA 1. EXPRESSES ITS DEEP CONCERN AT THE LACK OF EVIDENCE SO FAR THAT THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION WILL ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY CONCRETE RESULTS, AND ITS PROFOUND CONCERN AT THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IF THE CONFERENCE IS NOT A SUCCESS. (AGREED).

OPERATIVE PARA 2. AS IN ORIGINAL TEXT.

OPERATIVE PARA 3. FURTHER URGES THE CONFERENCE TO RESPOND TO THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE CONFERENCE IN A MANNER WHICH WILL ENABLE THE CONFERENCE TO REACH CONCRETE RESULTS IN ALL AREAS WHICH WOULD MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AT THE CONCLUDING MINISTERIAL MEETINGS IN DECEMBER 1976,

OPERATIVE PARA 4. SAME AS ORIGINAL TEXT EXCEPT THAT FIRST WORD IS EMPHASIZES (AGREED).

OPERATIVE PARA 5. SAME AS ORIGINAL TEXT (AGREED), END TEXT.
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